

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREEPENCE

BATTLE OF BRITAIN WEEK MOCKS "THE FEW"

By HUGH H. BROCK

BATTLE OF BRITAIN WEEK is being used as a means for recruiting boys to man the bombers which "The Few" gave their lives to prevent reaching their target of innocent women and children.

This is the only interpretation I can place on the programme arranged for the week which culminates on Sunday with a service in Westminster Abbey.

As if the presence of a bomber in Hyde Park were not sufficient to mock "The Few," the Battle of Britain Week programme included a fly-past of bombers of the American Air Force—a grim reminder that the real Battle of Britain had been lost;

that the enemy of civilisation, militarism, had triumphed and was bleeding the nations of the world white with its demands for a quarter of their national revenue.

Among the few voices raised in protest is that of Archdeacon Hartill, who last year signed the minority report of the Church commission on the atom-bomb. In June he refused a request to allow his church to be used for a Battle of Britain ceremony; last week, for reasons unknown to him, the letter was released to the Press.

Anxious not to hurt the feelings of any relatives of those who died in the Battle of Britain, Archdeacon Hartill has asked Peace News to publish in full his reply to the local RAF Association's request to hold a Battle of Britain service in his church:

ARCHDEACON HARTILL'S LETTER

The full text

The Rectory,
Stoke-on-Trent.
June 28, 1949

Dear Miss Hancock,

Thank you for your letter of June 23. I have delayed answering for a few days as it raised a number of difficult problems for me and I did not want to reach any decision without careful thought.

You probably know that I am a Christian pacifist; that is to say I believe that all war (even for a good cause) is a method inconsistent with the Mind and Will of Christ. I know of course that many Christians do not share my view and I respect their sincerity as I hope they respect mine.

I can observe Remembrance Sunday without any qualms of conscience because I can unreservedly appreciate the courage and devotion of those who laid down their lives in loyalty to what they believed to be right. But the commemoration of the Battle of Britain seems to me to fall into a different category; and I cannot feel that a Service to commemorate a battle can be a fitting act of worship to the Prince of Peace. I have therefore decided, after very careful consideration, that I must say "no" to your request for such a Service in Stoke Parish Church.

I write this with reluctance, and I am sure you will understand that it implies no condemnation of those who took part in the Battle of Britain; I am sure that their sincerity was as great as mine and they had a courage to which I could never have attained. But I feel bound by loyalty to the truth as I see it to maintain a consistent witness to my conviction that the war method is always incompatible with the Will of God as revealed in Christ.

Doubtless other clergy who do not share my convictions on this matter would be ready to welcome you at their churches. Perhaps you would care to approach Prebendary Milward about the possibility of going to the Parish Church at Hanley.

I may add that I have personally seen the Lord Mayor this morning and explained my position to him.

I know that I cannot expect you to agree with my point of view as I have tried to express it; but I feel sure that you will be ready to recognise and respect the sincerity of my convictions.

Yours sincerely,

Percy Hartill.

Archdeacon Hartill is chairman of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and a member of the Peace Pledge Union.

Germ-weapon makes atom bombs obsolete PEACE CONVENTION CALLS FOR MILITANT PACIFISM

"The atom bomb is obsolete. It is child's play compared to biological weapons.

"There is a product in existence which if spread extensively can kill on contact or if breathed in.

"It can kill all living beings within six hours and leave the area safe for troops to occupy within the 12 hours it takes to disappear."

—Dr. Brock Chisholm, Director-General of the World Health Organisation, speaking at the World Union of Peace Organisations Convention at St. Cergue, Switzerland.

MILITANT pacifism and a new strategy for peace were demanded by delegates attending WUPO's first international convention which ended last Tuesday.

The Convention aimed at strengthening the efforts of all the organisations working directly and indirectly for the promotion of peace and international understanding by

- (1) a combined endeavour to meet the peril of World War and of atomic and bacterial warfare, and
- (2) mobilising the moral and spiritual forces of the world.

In addition to Dr. Brock Chisholm, speakers at the Convention included Lord Boyd Orr; Professor Gunnar Myrdal, Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Europe; Mr. Ritchie Calder, Science Editor of the News Chronicle; Dr. L. Kowarski, Assistant to the Director of the French Institute of Atomic Energy; and Dr. Siegmund Schultze of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Peace Pledge Union was represented by Corder Catchpool.

It is hoped that the findings of the Convention will provide material for continued study and form the basis for a serious effort to create a common mind and conscience among the organisations concerned with the promotion of peace.

Need for unity
"There are between two and three thousand peace organisations of earnest and devout peace-lovers in the world," writes Ritchie Calder in a report on the Conference (News Chronicle, Sept. 12),

GREEK CO Death sentence suspended

THE sentence of death passed on the Greek conscientious objector and Jehovah's Witness, Paul Beratis, has been suspended, the War Resisters' International have been informed.

Commenting on this case, reported in Peace News last week, Grace Beaton writes: "We have no further details at the moment, but the fact that so many of these death sentences are now being suspended gives us, I think, some occasion to hope that the concerted efforts the WRI have endeavoured to organise may be beginning to have effect."

Runham Brown, Chairman of the WRI and Grace Beaton, Secretary, are to meet the Greek lawyer who has dealt with many of these cases in recent months.

HALF OF COs IN US GAOLS ARE QUAKERS

Immediate freedom for 42 conscientious objectors now in prison for refusal to obey the peacetime draft act has been demanded by the American Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.

The committee said that the continued imprisonment of these men represents a threat to religious liberty.

More than half of the CO's now in prison are Quakers and most of the rest belong to churches from whose teachings they have evolved their ideas of opposition to war.

"but their approaches are often competitive and conflicting.

"The one thing common to all is the inescapable difficulties and dangers of the existing "cold war" which is paralysing their efforts. It has been proposed that all groups could make common ground on a 'world truce.'

In a discussion on the possibilities of a better understanding of the Russian point of view, Dr. Kowarski pointed out that the question of the economic uses of atomic energy had been a point of acute suspicion because many countries were afraid that their development in the atomic field might be dictated.

The Convention had not closed as Peace News went to press.

Will they be giving it up?

"THE Territorials returned to Scotland much wiser in the ways of war than when they left home," says a report in the British Zone Review of a training trip to Germany made recently by a Highland TA Regiment. The troops carried out battle practice among the ruins left by World War II.

WHAT CAN I DO TO ABOLISH WAR?

If you are—

16

TRAIN for a job that will not involve you in war-preparation. Steer clear of the armament and aircraft industries. Study the teachings of Christ, Gandhi and Tolstoy.

18

REGISTER as a conscientious objector and refuse to be trained in the art of killing.

21

JOIN in the world-wide work of the War Resisters' International. Members of the British section, the Peace Pledge Union, sign this pledge "I renounce war and will never support or sanction another."

A PARENT

EXPOSE the glamour surrounding such organisations as the ATC, OTC and other pre-service organisations. Indicate points of similarity to the Hitler Youth and other totalitarian organisations whose aim is to deaden the conscience, instil unquestioning obedience, and instruct in the art of mass-murder.

Thousands of men and women all over the world have pledged themselves not to wage war. They refuse military service, they will not make munitions.

These militant pacifists are calling to you to join with them, defending your country and all other countries, in the only way possible—as an unarmed citizen working for peace.

* Membership is open to those under 21. Headquarters is at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, WC1.

"STEPS TO PEACE" CONFERENCE

R. H. WARD, Alex Comfort, Vera Brittain, Wilfred Wellock and Roy Walker among those who will be speaking at the Peace Pledge Union's "Steps to Peace" conference which will be held in Friends House, Euston, on November 5, 1949, from 10 a.m. to 8.30 p.m.

Every member of the conference will be asked to express a preference for one, or more of the following eight commissions which the conference will divide: Arts and Letters; Education; Non-violence; Propaganda; Religion; Science; Social Order.

PEACE NEWS

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Now thank we all our God

By **STUART D. MORRIS**

General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union

FROM time to time we are bidden to take part in an act of thanksgiving in connection with some anniversary such as the Battle of Britain, or for victory in the war—but do we stop to think what this really means?

No one will want to deny the courage of "The Few" in the Battle of Britain or the sacrifices of the many in the Air Force, Navy and Army during the war. That is not in question. What is in question is the picture of God in the minds of those who share in such acts of thanksgiving.

Actually we are not asked to thank God for courage and self-sacrifice but for the circumstances in which they were displayed. The German pilots showed the same courage as the British, for war makes its demands for sacrifice on all who participate in it, victor and vanquished, and, indeed, soldiers and civilians alike. The thanksgiving is not for the courage and self-sacrifice which all display—for something which unites men because they all share in it—but for the fact that our side happened to win—something which divides men because we cannot all share in it.

If we had lost the Battle of Britain should we be thanking God for it? So it is not really for the display of courage and self-sacrifice, nor even for the victory of right over wrong for which we are bidden to thank God, but for the victory of our side in war.

If truth is the first casualty in war, it is the truth about God which is first surrendered, since war denies the Fatherhood of God as it shatters the Brotherhood of Man. We but emphasise that surrender when we praise the God of all men for the victory over some, or thank Him for the defeat of one part of His family by the other. What a dilemma we put God in, Nevinston has reminded us:

*God heard the embattled nations sing and shout,
Gottstrafe England and God Save the King,
God this, God that and God the other thing,
'Good God' said God 'I've got my work cut out'*

Prayer is not an easy way of getting what we want, but a difficult way of helping us to become what God wants us to be. It is as much a challenge to our consciences as an assertion of our needs.

What then about the victory for which we are asked to thank God? We are told that the final victory over Japan was secured through the dropping of the atom bomb. Can we really thank God for the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and ask His blessing on the use of such methods?

We know that during the war the authorities felt it necessary to make use of methods which involved the starvation of children and the burning to death of thousands of refugees, none of whom could be held responsible for the war. Can we ask God's approval for the result of action of this kind?

We realise that as a result of the war there is a general lowering of moral standards and a depreciation of spiritual values. Is such demoralisation a fit subject for thanksgiving? Do we really want to thank God for peace-time conscription which threatens our true freedom, or even for the fears which stalk widespread through the world and threaten another war in which we shall again pray for victory and ask His blessing upon yet more vile and indiscriminate methods of destruction?

Yet all these things are the inevitable consequences of war, and we cannot really thank God for victory without asking His approval of the method of war with all it involves.

Prayer is a deadly form of words unless it expresses a desire to be at one with the mind and purpose of God. Thanksgiving is thoughtgiving—the dedication of ourselves to God's way of dealing with our fellow men, and relationships with them, and to the fulfillment of His purposes. These can best be seen in the life of Christ—in the love which He demands even for our enemies, and His refusal to use the method of violence.

Remember that He was born into a defeated nation whose country was suffering occupation and that He had the chance of using the method of violence in response to the appeals from the leaders of His people, He chose instead the way of the Cross—ready to die for what He believed in, He refused to kill either to save His friends, overthrow his enemies, or defend His country.

Christ's way was that of unconditional surrender to the will and method of God—accepted not imposed. That is the difference between the way of war and the way of Christ. War demands that we should kill, and by so doing ensure that we kill the very thing we believe in. When we thank God for victory we are really thanking Him for defeat.

The way of God demands that we should indeed show all the courage and self-sacrifice which is displayed in war and be ready to die for what we believe in but never to kill. That is the only method upon which we can ask the blessing of God, the only way to achieve a victory for which we dare thank Him.

If we would cease to put our trust in armaments as a way of preparing for peace or in war as a way of defending the right or advancing the kingdom of God, we could still prove that "sufficient is Thine arm alone and our defence is sure."

Commentary

Anti-conscription barrage

THE attack on conscription always did come from various quarters and motives, and on this issue the pacifist, whose opposition to it is automatically included in the wider issue, finds himself in company with a mixed lot of fellow-travellers.

We shall, however, sympathise with the Liberal Party's public protest more than with most. For this Liberal compromise with militarism is at least a moral objection, based on that traditional concern for liberty of conscience which has distinguished that Party more than any other; and there is always the chance that the non-pacifist Liberal may awaken to the fact that there can be no lasting compromise with militarism, for militarism will not permit it.

In these days of total war, the voluntary principle is out date. When war breaks out no Government can afford to leave the citizen to choose what he—or she—will do about it. War must be supported, or renounced, absolutely.

Objections, various

IN the present phase, new factors have entered the controversy. In former days one never heard, for example, of objections from military authorities themselves, on the grounds that to throw the net indiscriminately over the whole young male population drags in large numbers whose unfitness is an impediment to efficiency. And, incidentally, the accounts given by some officers of the poor physical and mental quality of many conscripts is a disturbing disclosure of our national condition after six years war, a generation of economic decline and 80 years compulsory education.

A more important factor, however, is the growing realisation among magistrates, teachers, welfare workers and others closely concerned with the general deportment of contemporary youth, of the demoralising effects of conscription upon character, outlook and behaviour.

Their protest has arisen spontaneously, without reference to any preconceived opinions on militarism in general, and certainly without any pacifist intention.

"What's the use of studying?"

IN the journal of a well-known welfare centre, for instance, a writer who has much experience of community and club activities among young people, recently commented strongly upon "the unsettling influence of conscription upon the young boy, hitting him so hard at the outset of his life, and in his formative years. He is frittering away the years between 15 and 17—'What's the use of studying' he says, 'I'll be called up anyway.'"

The article describes how boys are discouraged from serious work and from concentrating on a career, and gives instances of boys of marked talent and ability who have given up the idea of studying for a profession or taking up a skilled apprenticeship, and drifting instead into some dull job in which they have no interest.

"These are the years," the writer says, "in which, through attention to chosen work with a goal ahead, the boy's unique individuality should be shaping itself, and instead—'his abounding vitality tends to become aimless and a bit of a nuisance.'"

The only alternatives

THE whole position was well summarised the other day in the Daily Mail by Mr. Selby Bradford, who has been making an enquiry into the British Army of today. He says:

"The answer to Britain's Military Service problem is the answer to the future of all the fighting services: Pack it all up! Tell the world, and Russia in particular, that we cannot protect ourselves, and invite anyone willing to do so, to come in and regulate our lives. Either that—or stop cheese-paring and think again! But in any case give up the folly of conscripting the youth of England and destroying the last remnants of patriotism left in an 18-year-old young man's heart!"

We could not wish for a clearer statement of the alternatives, though we should certainly differ from him as to which we should choose.

For there is one point which we imagine he has missed: "When we do stop 'cheese-paring,' and finally subordinate all social and economic progress to military strength and make an ever-growing defence expenditure the first charge on our resources, we shall, by that very decision, have already allowed the potential enemy to regulate our lives and, in effect, control our national life."

The real purpose—psychological

THERE have already been rumours that conscription may be dropped, but we do not believe that likely. For there are other and more sinister reasons for conscription, apart from its relation to immediate military efficiency.

The advocate of conscription may logically argue that these present objections to it represent only the short-term view: that the nation can, in time, adapt itself to the social, moral and economic disadvantages

of it, as the Continental nations did long ago.

For a nation which has decided that its very existence depends on maintaining the maximum military strength, there is the long-term view to be considered. Conscription, whether a military advantage or not, has an important psychological effect: by removing military service from the sphere of voluntary choice it marks it off from all other social duties and activities as the one in which personal choice is neither permitted nor expected, and thus, in time, accustoms the mass of the people to accepting military service without question as the primary social obligation.

Conditioning the mind

IT is as an agent for that process of mental conditioning that conscription has its chief value, quite apart from its use as a ready supply of gun-fodder. The far seeing militarist, therefore, should insist on it, whether or not it is an immediate aid to efficiency.

The process may be difficult at first, in a nation more accustomed than others to the idea of individual liberty. But after a generation, the British people, like others, may have submitted to the surrender of their consciences to the State, as far as the duty of massacre is concerned. Though of course, within the limits of that tether, they never will be slaves.

That state of acquiescence is one which it is absolutely necessary for governments to cultivate once they have determined on permanent preparedness for total war.

Back to the Tyrannosaurus

And that is the stage we have reached. Military strength is now the primary concern of governments, Tory and Labour alike. We have surrendered to the thing we have fought for 35 years. German militarism has conquered us at last, after two wars. Kaiser and Fuehrer can now rest content in their graves. Neither needs a statue. "Si monumentum requiescat, circumspice."

We have set foot on the path that leads backwards in evolution to the saurian stage, when the great, cumbersome and pin-headed reptiles loaded themselves so heavily with defences that they became incapable of looking after themselves. And so, unfit to survive, they sank over-weighted into their favourite mud, leaving the world to more intelligent, and therefore smaller and weaker creatures.

Accidental wisdom

A correspondent calls our attention to a recent news item in the Daily Graphic headed, "U.S. Bombers come to Norfolk." The report of that event was immediately followed by a boxed quotation from Milton: "Who overcomes by force hath overcome but half his foe."

Our friend asks, "Can it be that the truth is gradually percolating the minds of the most bellicose section of the community—the editors of Tory dailies?"

We would not go as far as that. We fear the propinquity of the Miltonic crack was accidental, not inserted as a comment on the report. It is the custom of popular papers to throw in a daily dose of uplift, and it is some junior's function to dig bits out of the Bible and the poets. They are put in according to size required, rather than for their meaning, which nobody notices.

The intellectual labour of connecting uplift with news is left to the reader. But that is no reason for withholding our thanks to the Graphic for printing the truth on such a vital matter, even if it was unintentional. Even in Fleet Street, there's many a true word spoken by accident.

SCHOOLBOY CO

"ENCLOSED is a small contribution to PN. Last week's was a great help to COs," writes a schoolboy reader who in the same letter relates his experiences when registering as a CO on Sept. 3:

"I entered the Labour Exchange, walked up to the counter and told a man there that I wished to register as a CO. After a short wait I was taken to a room where I had to wait again until they hunted out the necessary forms."

"The gentleman who gave me the forms and came in the room with me was exceptionally nice about it. He told me that unless it was a really conscientious stand I didn't stand much chance. I told him that it was and then he shook my hand wished me luck, and added that if ever I wished to see him he would always be glad to. I didn't bargain for such courteous treatment, it came as a pleasant surprise."

It's good to know that this boy found a helping hand at the Labour Exchange and in the pages of PN. . . But it's only the Forward Fund which keeps the paper going while we are building up our circulation. Thank you for another generous response . . . but we need £620 and 2,000 new readers by the end of the year!

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Sept. 2: £21 19s. 8d. Total for 1949: £378 3s. 5d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

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CAN AMERICA WIN THE PEACE?

FOR good or ill the issue of peace is increasingly being made to pivot on American financial and economic policy.

This trend appears to satisfy many people in this country, for reasons which do not square with the facts of American life today.

In my view the problem of peace is fundamentally a spiritual problem, and a first-hand study of American life and thought has failed to convince me that much spiritual guidance is likely to emerge from the United States in the immediate future.

Peace, today, is widely believed to be synonymous with such nebulous, indefinable terms as "Western Democracy," the American or British "way of life"; yet the former can mean anything from Right to Left class rule in Western Europe, or from Fair Deal to unrestricted Private Enterprise Rule in the United States.

Two world wars have played havoc with industrialised Europe, turned the mechanisms of its former wealth and power into instruments of destruction, whence one-half of Europe now lives under the power of Communist dictatorship and the other half on the bounty of the United States.

Unfitted for world leadership

Hence two conflicting materialistic systems of colossal size confront each other in an atmosphere of nerve-shattering uncertainty. Fear and hysteria are consuming both and causing more and more of their financial, natural and human resources to be poured into their war systems.

Geographical situation and an unparalleled period of industrial invention and expansion have compelled the USA to shoulder the responsibility of trying to restore the economy of a dozen or so countries and so save Western Europe, the Near and Far East, and also herself from the perils of Communist dictatorship.

Is she spiritually equal to the task? I say spiritually, advisedly, because it is at that level that her real strength will finally be tested.

Frankly, "the American way of life" fills me with apprehension.

Its breathless speed, its high consumption levels—that is, among the people who count, and very considerable numbers do not count even in that land of plenty, its restlessness, the atmosphere of pressure advertising from which it is almost impossible to escape in the daily—and especially the Sunday—newspapers, in the countless gorgeous magazines, and in the omnipresent radio, the almost complete lack of repose and of the habit of meditation, leave one gasping.

In accepting all these manifestations of materialism, as apparently she does, the Church no less than the State is unfitted for world leadership in this age of rapidly weakening spiritual impulses.

Freedom—for monopolies

Careful observation leads to the conclusion that the chief freedom in America refers to the really astonishing rights of what is still called private enterprise, which are in fact, the monopoly of an exceedingly small minority.

Two hundred-and-fifty concerns now control two-thirds of the industrial facilities of the country that were controlled by 15,000 companies before the war. One hundred-and-thirteen manufacturers control 46 per cent. of the total assets of all manufacturing corporations. One-eighth of one per cent. of all business corporations are reported to own 51 per cent. of the nation's gross assets.

This immense financial, economic and political power of the few ensures the impotence of the many, especially of the millions tied to the assembly lines and other repetitive operations. Many of these receive comparatively high wages, the spending of which appeases the degradations of automatic functioning. But the mass mind of America is as dangerous as it is elsewhere, and will go the way of its kind when money fails as one day it will.

The rulers are afraid

The rulers of America know this, which is why they are so afraid. Despite her great natural resources and the magnitude of her wealth, belief in the stability of America's economic future is almost non-existent.

The knowledge that the nation's economic life is in the control of a handful of very powerful monopolies, whose relations with politics are as close as a man's two hands, produces fear and dismay rather than confidence.

The causes of the present trade recession are anyone's guess. Nevertheless the advertisers are operating at full pressure to induce the public to spend all they have, even their unearned wages for years ahead, in order to keep the machines running and the profits flowing. The three major safety valves in America at present are Marshall aid, militarism, and advertising.

Incidentally this process of perpetual buying and getting rid of useable and wearable goods in order to keep up with the Joneses and of cleaning and keeping in order an endless array of gadgets, is consuming more and more of the house-wife's

time and causing her to inquire about her promised but ever-receding leisure.

The economics of panic

Even so, there is fear that the machines cannot be kept going. Hence the new idea born in desperation, is that America must export more, to which end she must import more and consume more, and Mr. Hoffman is confident she can do all these things.

How, we are not told, for already the United States is exporting twice as much as she imports—a dangerous practice in present world conditions. Moreover, her manufacturers cry out immediately the home market declines, while it is chiefly food, raw materials and machinery, and not consumer goods, which most of the nations who export to America require in exchange.

Are Hoffman's hopes a part of America's growing hysteria? The alternatives to this fantastic economy are unemployment and economic breakdown, more enforced socialism, more Marshall Aid, and more militarism.

Such is the impasse into which the American economy is being driven. But even if it would work, there is a growing conviction that a European-cum American economy based on shockingly wasteful standards of material living in the USA is indefensible, indeed wicked. The world cannot tolerate much longer the waste of natural resources that is taking place in the U.S. today.

It is a satanic civilisation, materialism run mad, which says that Europe must be saved by stimulating new appetites in the U.S. amidst a broken, starving world.

Persecution of liberal minds

No one speaks of that impasse in America, but that is only because the people suspect its truth and fear its consequences. From end to end of the country there is a growing fear that the American economy which is the climax and final expression of

the economy of the Industrial Revolution, is incapable of supporting, let alone of restoring, a collapsing edifice which has consumed the genius of the Western world for over 170 years.

The strength of that fear is the measure of the fear of Communism that is attacking the soul of America with the ferocity of a plague. I have never witnessed anything like it.

In every part of the country public servants of all kinds, including teachers, university professors and lecturers are being called upon to declare their loyalty to the State or resign. Many have been dismissed.

Men of liberal mind, of staunch character and public standing are being humiliated as never before in American history; to-day they are voices crying in the wilderness. They look on, helpless, while their nation sells its soul for a negation, perishes for a lack of vision, of a spiritual objective equal to the demands of the times.

Britain's opportunity?

I am compelled to draw attention to these things since so many people and nations are looking to the USA for succour and salvation. Succour they will no doubt get, but salvation?

The paramount need today is a true alternative to Communism, the vision of a new freedom—freedom from the power machine, the end product of which is the war machine—pilotless airplanes laden with atomic and disease bombs.

The freedom we need is the freedom of the common man to reveal his worth in creative living, to recover his skills and other lost values, and thus his manhood.

Perhaps it is Britain's destiny to win this freedom after all, if not by virtue, then by the virtue of austerity, which may be a sounder teacher than material abundance. I think that is the most important lesson which four-and-a-half months journeyings in the United States has taught me.

The fruits of

MILITARY GOVERNMENT

"They (the Germans) are a bad lot. Arrogant in triumph, contemptible in their defeat, they construe every attempt to treat them with justice and fairness as evidence of weakness."

—Daily Express comment on the German elections, August 15, 1949.

IF the above characteristic is true—and doubtless it can be applied to the nationalistic clique in Germany—then it indicates the bankrupt policy the Western Powers have pursued until now: of maintaining contact with that type of German and ignoring, from the beginning the "other Germany"—the people who wanted international understanding and genuine peace.

It was officially declared in 1945 that "Prussian militarism and Nazism would be eliminated"; and there were some people in Germany who believed that at the time. But the exponents of this policy of "elimination" chose peculiar methods: hunting parties of responsible officials of the Western Allies working in co-operation with representatives of the Nazi regime. There was no sympathy for those who protested against the keeping of Nazi criminals in the German Civil Service.

Protests not welcomed

We—members of "Das Andere Deutschland"—then believed that such occurrences would prove to be exceptions and that it would suffice to draw the attention of the Military Authorities to established facts. But we soon understood that such protests were not welcomed and that such favouring of the reactionary elements was part of a policy. Nazi-supporters obtained key positions as administrators and judges, while—to give only one example—in Lower Saxony a judge of high standing who protested in a meeting of judges against utterances of anti-democratic members was dismissed shortly afterwards.

"De-Nazification" became a farce owing to the friendly contacts between Military Authorities and Nazi officials. This soon became generally known and the British Zone became an "El Dorado" for Nazis, from then on it meant some risk to openly confess pro-democratic conviction.

In such circumstances it is not surprising to see that a former "gauleiter" is acquitted or pays "pro forma" a ridiculous fine; that one of the leading nationalists—Herr Hugenberg—remains unmolested; that Herr Schacht after his sentences in the U.S. Zone flees to the British Zone and is allowed to make provocative speeches in the election campaign. Moreover, General Robertson said that he would hardly express any objection to the election of Herr Schacht in the Bundestag.

Suicide unnecessary

Surely, if anybody owes gratitude to the Military Governments it is those men and cliques who covered themselves with immeasurable guilt during the Nazi regime in peace and in war. How silly were those who, with a guilty conscience, committed suicide in the days of the debacle.

We—members of "Das Andere Deutschland"—have repeatedly warned the Occupation authorities not to pursue this policy. I once mentioned in my paper the distribution of envelope seals with Nazi slogans,

This article by
FRITZ KÜSTER

who was interned in a concentration camp for the whole of the Nazi regime (from 1933 to 1945) has been translated from the German original, dated Aug. 24. Fritz Küster was editor of the well-known paper Das Andere Deutschland (The Other Germany) which has recently had to cease publication.

and had afterwards to appear before an official to hear that permission had been given for that distribution by the General of the district and the Social-democrat Minister, and that I should not cause trouble.

Now the seeds of a Nazi revival are sown and the election results show the direction which, with the spreading of this mentality, will undoubtedly develop at an accelerated pace.

Who chose Hitler?

Who is to be blamed? Is Britain justified in expressing disappointment about developments in Germany after her policy of recent years? Mr. R. H. S. Crossman gave his view on this subject in the Berlin periodical "Der Monat":

"Instead of offering direct support to those Germans who accept our ideals of Western democracy we tell them now: 'Gentlemen, experience in the past shows that you were not able to convince your compatriots and to put your ideals into practice. As we have in future to expect another failure of your efforts and agree with you that this failure, should it occur, is partly a result of our policy during the occupation, we can only wish the best for the success of your endeavours but have no confidence in it.'"

We of the "Andere Deutschland"—who were struggling against Nazism when England concluded a naval pact with Hitler and permitted the occupation of the Rhineland—submit the following reply: "We abandoned democrats wish you a better success with the partners you have chosen."

The money collected in England in defence of General von Manstein, will not be without an appreciable effect on our nationalists. We, the genuine democrats, can't offer you a mercenary army. But England, having from the beginning ignored and intentionally rejected co-operation with the active forces against Nazism, has no right to show surprise and again to accuse the whole German population of faults arising from her own mistakes.

MP TO PARLIAMENTARIANS

Beware of
the professional
soldier

A warning to parliamentarians to be on their guard against the growing influence of professional soldiers was uttered by Rhys J. Davies, MP, when he addressed the 39th Annual Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Stockholm on Sept. 11. The following is an extract from his speech.

I HAVE always deemed it my duty to denounce war as an instrument of national policy, and I hope to do that today before this assembly representing thirty sovereign countries.

It is very heartening to note that at long last this issue of peace has become of serious import to the Inter-Parliamentary Union which was established for two main purposes: to ensure peace among nations and enlarge the area of the Parliamentary system of government throughout the world.

None desire war for its own sake, but peoples engage in wars because they have come to the conclusion that they cannot get their own way without. That is the first fundamental to be borne in mind about war and peace.

Problems left unsettled

Then, we have to consider whether what they call a nation's own way of life is worth fighting for. . . . There must have been at least five hundred wars recorded in history and hardly one of them has settled the problems they set out to solve. Indeed, nearly every war has created many more intricate issues than were present before the conflict broke out. The second world war in Europe is a classical example to prove that contention.

War is becoming more brutal, cruel, savage and destructive as the centuries roll on; and another world conflict—with the atom bomb and bacteria—would most certainly increase in ferocity over anything that has gone before. There is, therefore, nothing more important than public representatives can do than proclaim the insanity of armed conflict and try to bring reason to bear on those who have the power to wage war.

Fear unjustified by events

Fear of some other power is very often unjustified by events. Governments always declare when they decide to rearm that they are preparing for defence; that strong defences will deter any power invading their territory. History, however, proves that when a nation is armed to the teeth for defence some excuse is easily found for setting the military machine in motion.

The professional soldier can always convince his government that immediate military action is necessary because the enemy is actually at the gate, when in fact he may be too far away to create trouble.

It seems that nearly every nation on earth is spending proportionately more and more of its substance on wars as the centuries proceed. It may be, indeed, that every workman in every land must now labour an average one day per week in order to satisfy the lust of military might.

Growth of military influence

Moreover, the professional soldier seems to be gaining greater and greater influence over governments as the days go by; and unless politicians rouse themselves the whole machinery of the State will be employed just as a means to provide what is generally called defence expenditure against aggression.

The common people of the world everywhere wish nothing more than to be left alone to earn their daily bread without these infernal military eruptions which demand that they shall be conscripted, often against their will, and reduced to clay to be moulded by the hands of the military potter.

We are not here, of course, to attribute blame to any one nation more than the rest. Nearly all are guilty of these charges. Our duty is to call a halt and to let them know that this Union rejects the idea that war is inevitable.

Governments everywhere must abandon the imperialist practice of interfering by devious means in the domestic affairs of other nations and give up every effort of trying to convince every human being that their form of government is the one and only correct institution.

We must bear in mind, above all, that the late Mahatma Gandhi by the exercise of the things of the spirit, achieved more for the millions of India, without firing a single shot, than all the Generals, Air-Marshals, and Admirals combined have done by force of arms since the dawn of civilisation.

To ensure peace the human race needs a change of heart more than a change in the instruments of government.

READERS' PAGE

Building one world

AT a period when the national Press continues to report the vagaries of the "cold war" without offering one genuine solution, it is refreshing to find a really constructive piece of work for mutual understanding between nations going on.

In East Finchley, Mr. and Mrs. John Hudson opened their home in April 1948 to Germans visiting England under the German Educational Reconstruction Scheme.

GER is one of those non-Governmental organisations working for the betterment of international relationships, and this group has brought over many German educationists, broadcasters, and social workers, interested in visiting Britain to compare our methods of teaching and training with those of Germany and also our general way of life.

The German guests arrive in parties of 25, and are drawn from the three Western Zones and Berlin. They are representative of many occupations. One party alone included elementary and secondary school teachers, university students, lecturers and professors, youth leaders, civil servants, a woman director of school broadcasting, a librarian and a publisher.

After a long stay, a Mannheim school-master recently said:—

"I have found among ordinary individuals as opposed to politicians a genuine desire for friendship between our two countries, and I wish that this feeling would grow to such an extent that it could eventually influence the politicians of the world, so that we can have a United Europe, and more than that—a United World!"

Obviously, as in this GER venture, the quest for Peace need never be negative. Peace can be something real, full of friendly activity and achievement, and is a necessary attribute to life.

In this group where the English and Germans have been brought together by GER there has been much reciprocity of friendship and culture and mutual understanding, the Germans making their own indispensable contribution.

I trust that this work will receive the publicity it deserves.

CLARISSA CHUBB

The military blunder again

DURING the past twelve months I have given hospitality to German teachers and social workers visiting this country at the invitation of GER, and have thereby cemented friendships not only for myself but for our country.

The following is an extract from a letter from my last visitor, a teacher:

"I am very sorry you could not have witnessed a talk yesterday I had with

one of my best colleagues in his house. He is a man of excellent knowledge and manners and to characterize his political mind—no "Prussian" type.

"He spent two months (May and June) in Wales in a college as a guest of Germany's Military Government and did not find anything but closed doors and unkind, even unpolite and hostile treatment. He came over to your country as a friend and has lost any feeling of this kind.

"I had to work hard to make him believe that I had seen and known quite another England, that I had found only people whose excellent qualities I can never forget.

"I urged him of course to let official circles in Germany and Great Britain know what happened to him. There is no sense in inviting a man only to give him the conviction he has never had before, that England is only interested in keeping Germany and her trade down.

"The information I could give him, especially the ideal treatment I had found in the circle of the conscientious objectors were very valuable to him and showed him that it is rather dangerous to judge a foreign country after a two months' stay in it.

"The more I can assure you that the deep sympathy I got for you as your guest is still growing. You have done good, and only the good is worth living."

(Names and addresses supplied but withheld by Editor, PN).

Maori and conscription

THE report on the New Zealand Conscription Referendum and the observation that where the Maori predominated the votes were against conscription was significant.

It fits many things I was told when for some years I lived, by invitation, on a Maori pah.

Once, at a Maori concert when a war dance was in progress a Maori gentleman turned to me in agitation: "Excuse me if I go. The haka brings up war fever in me and I feel that I want to kill." The distress in the face and eyes was a revelation.

A. F. McDonnell (publisher of Maori literature, interpreter and their friend) often explained that though the Maori are warriors to a man yet they saw clearly the implications of the New Testament. When the first World War came they plainly said "You people came with your Book. It told us of the God of Love. We turned from Tu (War god). Do you now want us to go back to Tu?"

Uncle Mac (as the Maori called McDonnell) remembered how, during the Maori wars the Maori warriors—relying on "Christians being Christian on a Sunday," went to worship unarmed, with the result that the Christian soldiers swooped down on them.

A London news article after World War II told how a ceremony took place when Maori troops returned home in which they repudiated Tu and became Christians again. They had been too honest to take Christ's name into battle.

Among the last to hear the Gospel—the Maori may be among the first in the Kingdom.

A CONSTANCE DERRY

88 West Street,
Alford,
Lincs.

Esperanto—

RHODA CLARKE'S plea (PN Aug 26) for an agreed international language is unanswerable, the need is urgent. Basic English is unsuitable; if it is just possible to converse in it, complicated discussions involving subtle distinctions are certainly unthinkable. Esperanto on the other hand, combines simplicity and great precision with remarkable efficiency.

The wide range of topics dealt with at the recent Esperanto Congress in Bournemouth (attended by over 1,500 persons from 31 countries) was a matter of course to experienced Esperantists and a living refutation of all the "objections" raised by uninformed theorists.

The fundamental pacifism of its inventor is ingrained in the history of the language.

FRANK MERRICK

5 Horbury Crescent, W11.

(This is representative of a number of letters received on this subject. Ed.)

—for pacifists

AT the 34th Universal Esperanto Congress which was held this year in Bournemouth from Aug 6-13, the atmosphere was one of goodwill, kindness and friendliness throughout—and all Bournemouth seemed to be infected by it. I am sure that the universal language was responsible for this, it just drew us all together into one big family.

There was a special meeting for pacifists one day at the Municipal College and Peace News was shown. I should like to recommend all pacifists to study Esperanto if they do not already know it. It is an interesting, fascinating language and will, I feel sure do more than anything else to draw the peoples of the world together.

L. GONGGRYP

16 Norland Square,
London, W11.

Making friends in Germany—Council of Europe Maori and war—Esperanto—Jehovah's Witnesses

Dangerous labels

LAURENCE HOUSMAN (PN Aug 12) writes: "so long as it (Russia) limits itself to the technique of Cold War the Western Powers dare not declare war on it," because "no Government can wage war effectively if it has not a great body of popular feeling behind it. And the Cold War, so long as it stays cold, is not going to arouse that feeling."

When does a Cold War become Warm and when Hot? These labels are dangerous. Though colourful and roughly picturing the international set-up, to extend the use of "Cold War" to describe, presumably, any relationship involving tension but not actual fighting is to simplify to an alarming degree.

A Cold War which produces a Berlin Blockade and a "rape" of Czechoslovakia ceases to be a Cold War in the minds (more accurately, emotions) of most people. Indeed, it arouses just that popular feeling Laurence Housman claims that his Cold War—so long as it remains cold—is not going to arouse.

Then he writes "and if it (Communism) obtains the allegiance of a majority, we (who maintain our belief in majority rule) shall have to accept it." But how do we accept it? As many well-meaning Germans accepted, albeit incredulously, the facts of Buchenwald? Do we accept it because it is not so bad anyhow? Or, because we can do a deal of good work "inside it"?

Accept, in the best Graham-Howe sense, of course we must. But so long as the party in power denies to others the majority rule, on the observance of which it attained its power, we clearly should not give as a reason for acceptance our belief in that rule.

G. F. HARRISON

3 Tanza Road,
London, NW3.

National sovereignty or not?

IF the Council of Europe were really a supra-national government, the settling of differences between member States would present no difficulty, any more than differences between adjacent municipalities do to a national government.

The important point which Churchill and all these so-called great minds appear to miss is that the Council of Europe cannot be considered to be a government if they insist, as they do, on the retention of sovereignty by the member States.

The retention of sovereignty is a principle which is directly opposed to the development of a peaceful state of society and the really ominous thing is that both Mr. Morrison and Mr. Churchill have declared in favour of this principle. The result is that no matter whether the next election is won by Labour or Conservative, we are going to see no signs of the principle in question being abandoned.

I envisage a World Parliament Party which would be pledged to unite the nations under a common sovereignty on free-democratic lines. I believe that if we appeal to the people to face the risks of common citizenship and peaceful submission to a supra-national parliamentary body they would gratefully exchange the present bill for armaments for a possible bill to raise the standard of living of those who are now worse off than we are.

Certainly I think that if the general public clearly understood that payment for wars, past and future, was the greatest cause of our retarded progress in living conditions they would rally to help in a policy of this kind, secure in the knowledge that the re-directed flow of money would tend to reinforce the likelihood of peace in the future for all men.

E. G. MACFARLANE

3 Alpin Road,
Dundee.

Pricked his conscience

THE "hard words from a young reader"

(PN, Aug. 5) possess a lot of truth and can be applied even to myself, though I continue to take Peace News; support IVSP and correspond with internationalists in Germany and the USA.

I'm a bus-conductor, work six days out of seven and have been able to attend only one IVSP meeting in six months. The weekly routine of wage-earning makes one forget sometimes the greater ideals for which many of us formerly gambled our reputations. However, in my job I meet thousands of people and have been able to put forward my views on internationalism, the colour bar, tolerance towards Jews, advocacy of better films, etc., and so help our "crusade" a little.

I would welcome letters or visits from any interested persons in North Glamorgan. "Young Reader" has pricked my conscience. I hope I'm not the only PN reader so affected!

GLYN BEVAN

19a, Well Place,
Cwmbach,
Aberdare, Glam.

Are Witnesses COs?

I READ in PN, June 10: "Jehovah's Witnesses are not COs. They expect an Armageddon in which the Saviour will lead them in a bloody slaughter of those who are not Christian."

But JWs assert that this final battle shall be fought by Jehovah against Satan. In

fact, I find in one of their texts ("The Truth Shall Make You Free," Italian edn., p. 352): "Jehovah's Witnesses will not take part in that awful battle (Armageddon). Why? 'For the battle is not yours, but God's' 2 Chron. XX, 15."

Another fundamental text for the JW is: "Thou shalt not kill," and so on.

A clarification of this question would be appreciated by all pacifists.

EDMUNDO MARCUCCI

via Gramsci, 25,
Jesi,
(Ancona), Italy.

Sunday activities

I WONDER what Dick Sheppard would have thought of the increasing number of notices in Peace News of meetings arranged to be held on Sundays. In the current issue there are two more advertisements—one for a Garden Party.

The reasons for the meetings are good in themselves, and we hope in line with God's Will for us, but while we are so busy are we to have no day for God Himself?

Would our earthly friendships endure, if we were so occupied in works on behalf of our friends, that we had no time to spend with them?

GRACE BUCHAN

1 Portland Street,
Lancaster.

Not so basic

THE commandment "Thou shalt not kill" reads in the new Basic English Bible: "Thou shalt not kill without just cause."

This seems a complete negation of the first five words. And a very useful reading for those who support war, capital punishment, or in fact any murder at all.

Should this book be supported by those who claim to be followers of Fox, Penn, etc.?

M. STAPLETON

79 Sutton Court Road, W.4.

Plea for unity

THERE is an overwhelming public indifference towards pacifist efforts for peace.

All genuine pacifists should come together in unity in order to help and assist morally and materially all those who are caught up by the stress of life in a non-pacifist society.

G. V. FRASER

77 Westdown Road,
Stratford, E.15.

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, September 15, 1939

If Fascism be the evil thing we believe it to be, it is bound to over-reach itself in the end. It is doing that already. Why, then, countenance the slaughter of millions of human beings as a means of hastening that end, especially when the auguries are that the evils of Fascism will be multiplied in the process?

... The evils which this country is professedly going forth to destroy will be more strongly entrenched and over a far wider area ... than they are today.

—Wilfred Wellock

I know that the progress of non-violence is seemingly a terribly slow progress. But experience has taught me that it is the surest way to the common goal.

There is deliverance neither for India nor for the world through clash of arms.

Violence, even for vindication of justice, is almost played out.

With that belief I am content to plough a lonely furrow, if it is to be my lot that I have no co-sharer in the out-and-out belief in non-violence.

—Mahatma Gandhi, from Harijan, Aug 26.

Although well-nigh weighed down with despair, I ... believe our cause is not beaten or destroyed but remains true for today and for all time.

To all young people who write for advice as to their line of conduct as COs I wish to say, no old person has the right or the knowledge necessary to guide the action of young people who think these problems out: once any person is convinced, for whatever reason, that it is impossible for them to take up arms and kill, they themselves must decide where their convictions will lead them.

Our main duty, especially old people like myself, is to stand by all who strive to follow the light of their own minds, wherever it may lead them. Brothers and sisters are divided on this question; life long friends cannot follow each other; men who in the last war took one view now find themselves obliged to take an opposite course. ...

Finally keep the flame of love alight in your own minds. Love is not yet dead, nor doth it sleep. Wrong shall fail, right prevail with peace on earth, good will to men. This is my Christian and Socialist faith.

—George Lansbury, President of the Peace Pledge Union.

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Today

LONDON, W.C.1

Stockholm World Government Congress BOYD ORR RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT

"The people of all countries hate the thought of war. They want a world in which people of all nations with common interests can meet in peace and friendship. . . . The strong desire for world peace is shown by the number of international organisations working for world government.

"In this world crisis every person of common sense and goodwill should respond to the call to join one or the other of these international organisations . . . the people of the world can have the Four Freedoms if they are willing to join together and work for them."

LORD JOHN BOYD ORR, President of the World Movement for World Federal Government made this appeal at the opening of the Movement's Third Annual Congress, in Stockholm, on Aug. 29.

The World Movement for World Federal Government was created, he said, so that the people of all countries could, with one voice, call on the governments to stop the political conflict which is tearing the world apart, and begin to co-operate with each other on international measures for the benefit of all countries.

The re-election of Lord Boyd Orr as President was unopposed.

The Congress which met in the House of Commons of the Swedish Parliament Buildings (Riksdagshuset), was attended by 350 delegates and observers as well as representatives from 20 international organisations specially invited.

Among the commissions into which the Congress divided was one on Atomic Energy. The commission's Report, presented by Dr. Kowarski, assistant to Prof. Joliot-Curie and adopted without amendment, states that the control of atomic energy "cannot usefully be discussed as an isolated problem since the problem concerned is one of the basic factors to national power. "As effective atomic energy control is impossible except under a supra-national authority, the Committee would like the concept of this authority widened, and advocates national and organic approach to the establishment of world government."

Reports were adopted on the Peoples' World Convention to be called in 1950; World Citizenship; The transformation of the U.N.O into a world federation; Parliamentary Action; Regional Federations.

At the closing session of the Congress the delegates stood while a message of goodwill and encouragement from the Mayor of Hiroshima was read by Morikatsu Nagasaki (Chairman of Executive of Japanese Union for World Federal Government).

Those elected to the new International Council included Elisabeth Borgese, USA; Hilde Nansen, Norway; Alexandre Marc, France; Raymond Swing, USA; Joe Heytcker, Germany; and Henry Osborne, Great Britain.

On the day the Congress opened, a public meeting was held in the Golden Room of Stockholm's beautiful Town Hall at which Abbe Pierre, President of the Executive of the Movement, spoke.

He warned the audience that at this moment in history when world unity seemed

to be so near, science, by a prodigious effort, had put into the hands of man the power to bring about the destruction of the very universe.

"Here is the problem before mankind. Will it be possible for him to realise the last step to unity without recourse to war? It is a matter of a complete change of conscience both intellectual and moral; a matter of the survival of humanity, or of its self-destruction.

"We cannot know now the full import of the extraordinary situation where all mankind is united and freed; what is sure, is that there is great need for all of us to work for it, for this is the law of life and the will of God.

"Will men act in time to limit the sovereignty of states? It is our job to establish the forces which can do this."

SOCRATES AND THE GARDENER

The Pursuit of Freedom

"Ebenezer!"

"Yes Master?"

"Ebenezer, come into the Arbour! I have great news for you. For one bright day put away the hoe. Let the slugs have their fill and the weeds choke the cabbages."

"As you will Master, they's your cabbages."

"Ebenezer, listen. From time immemorial, since the god's first stretched forth their hands, man has sought freedom!"

"As 'e now?"

"From the dawn of remembrance it has fanned the soul of man, breathed into his dreams, made buoyant his steps and brightened his vision, until at last we of this age are no longer earth-bound. Man stands equal with the gods!"

"So wot do I do Master?"

"Do Ebenezer! Its not what you do but what you enjoy—"

"Free beer?"

"Ah! Base and ignoble creature! Will your mind never rise to the Elysian Fields? Must you always aspire through your stomach and think from your feet?"

"But wots it all about?"

"Is it possible that you have been so occupied in my interest that you have not heard? Harken, good Ebenezer! From Parliament has come the news; from Government and Opposition, that we are free! By all the national journals it is confirmed! From the European Assembly, from across the Atlantic and over the ether all are agreed that we of this fair and blessed land have reached that haven of which the Sages dreamed, Philosophers argued and politicians lied!"

"They did an' all!"

"So now you stand before me Ebenezer, a unit of that elite, surpassing all the glory

CARAVAN OF EAST AND WEST

BACK in England after a visit to Germany, Mirza A. Sohrab, Director of the Caravan of East and West, hopes to be at the temporary offices of the Caravan in England (20 Buckingham Street) to-night (Friday) from 6-8 p.m. and tomorrow from 2-4 p.m. to meet friends interested in the movement.

The Caravan is an international pen-friendship organisation with a quarter of a million members throughout the world. Many have built their own headquarters where they meet for discussion, music and social service. Tremendous progress has recently been made in Berlin, where ten of the 32 Chapters which have been formed in Germany this year are situated.

From Prison to PSU

"Life in Holloway Prison," will be the subject of a talk by Kathleen Booth, SRN, SCM, at the next meeting of the Islington PPU Group which will be held at Peace News office, 3 Blackstock Road, N4, on Monday Sept 26 at 8 p.m. (Visitors will be welcomed).

Kathleen Booth gave up her work as a nurse at Holloway Prison soon after joining the Islington Group and is now working with the Stepney Pacifist Service Unit.

HERR PAUL LOEBE, veteran German Social Democrat who made the opening speech in the Lower House last week was one of the first signatories to the WRI manifesto issued in Germany 25 years ago.

Arms expenditure Unesco's business

—A. J. MUSTE

A RINGING summons from the Paris meeting of UNESCO to peoples and governments to cut drastically expenditures for military purposes and to devote much greater sums for education, health and the provision of food for all undernourished people, would meet with a glad response from multitudes throughout the world," says the Chairman of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, Rev. A. J. Muste, in a letter addressed to the American delegation to UNESCO.

Supporting Herbert Read's contention, that there is little point in discussing what education could or should be in a world at peace if there is to be no peace, A. J. Muste asks what possible place education based on modern psychology, therapy and teaching can have in a world in a perpetual state of war.

"If we are bringing up children in accordance with the ideas about life and the child as 'person,' which I hear advocated by modern kindergartners will they be equipped for taking an active part in total war?"

Fit for society—not barracks

"Can youth move from such schools into barracks? If not, do we keep the first and forego the second or vice versa?"

"Obviously, if we are saying one thing in our educational theory and practice and doing another, that also constitutes a grave and disturbing problem."

Countering any suggestion that for UNESCO to deal with such a question would be to trespass on the "political" field, A. J. Muste declares that—in the first place, educators can hardly accept the implied splitting up of life or the social order into air-tight compartments in one of which politics and national governments operate and in another education, science, and culture.

Even if a government might plausibly contend that educators who made proposals about military budgets were endangering national security, "might not educators with equal or greater plausibility contend that governments engaged in preparation for total war were stultifying the efforts of educators?"

The Peace Pledge Union have sent similar letters to each of the British delegates to UNESCO.

PPU's goodwill message to German Parliament

THE following telegram was sent last week to the President on the occasion of the setting up of the new Federal Government for Western Germany, by Stuart Morris:—

"On behalf of the Peace Pledge Union, the British Section of the War Resisters' International, I send you congratulations and good wishes on this important occasion. We share with the people of Western Germany their satisfaction at the restoration of self-government and their hopes of a united Germany. We believe that the new Government will help Germany to play its full part in the creation of a disarmed and peaceful world."

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Hilda von Klenze; "East and West"; Central London PPU Group.

Saturday, September 17

LEICESTER: 3 p.m. and 5.30 p.m. Public Conference at Wesley Central Hall, Frattin Road; Second Public Meeting at Rock Gardens (if wet Wesley Central Hall); "Christianity and World Peace"; Secretary: Rev. Gulliford; speakers: Rev. Morris; all welcome; South Bucks PPU Area Meeting; PPU.

PORTSMOUTH: 3.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. Public Conference at Wesley Central Hall, Frattin Road; Second Public Meeting at Rock Gardens (if wet Wesley Central Hall); "Christianity and World Peace"; Secretary: Rev. Gulliford; speakers: Rev. Morris; all welcome; South Bucks PPU Area Meeting; PPU.

WORTHING: 3.30 p.m. Tarring Road Wesley Central Church; Public meeting and Conference; speaker: Rev. T. Sincham; Chairman: Rev. Frank Sincham; PPU.

Sunday, September 18

DORKING: 3 p.m. The Shippen, Pilgrims Way, Westhumble (Nr. Box Hill Station); Surrey Area Meeting; Michael Tippett; "The Relationship of the Individual to the Community"; Surrey Area PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Stoke Newington Peace Group.

HIGHBURY CORNER: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Islington PPU.

Thursday, September 22

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Friday, September 23

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; "Journalism and Peace"; Bernard Boothroyd; Central London Group PPU.

Saturday, September 24

LEICESTER: 3.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House; North Midlands Area Conference; Chairman: Claude Liddle; North Midlands Area PPU.

AMERSHAM: 5 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Whielden Street; Bridging the Gulf between East and West; Stuart Morris; all welcome; South Bucks PPU Area Meeting; PPU.

September 24—25

LEEDS: Devonshire Hall; speakers: Kathleen Lonsdale, F.R.S. and Mary Phillips; Peace Message for Modern Times; Secretary: Stanley Farrar, Friends Meeting House, Clifford Street, York; Northern Friends Peace Board; (Applications to Stanley Farrar before Sept. 13).

Monday, September 26

FINSBURY PARK: 8 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. "Life in Holloway Prison"; Kathleen Booth, SRN, SCM; Islington PPU.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings, at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

ACCOMMODATION

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

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LITERATURE, &c.

THE HEART of Christianity is in the Sermon on the Mount, says Rev. Edis Fairbairn in his book *Apostate Christendom*. A forceful indictment of the Christian Churches' attitude to war. 3s. 9d. post free. Ken-Pax Publishing Co. Ltd., Kingsway Hall, W.C.2.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

NEW ANTI-CONSCRIPTION leaflet. 800 page reprints from Peace News of Sept. 2 with "Ten Years Ago" war anniversary article. Wrack cartoon, full CBCO Bureau list. 2s. 6d. 100. £1 1,000 post free. For immediate use. Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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FRENCHMAN, 24, wishes to stay with English family for 6 or 12 months for purpose of improving his English. Box 91.

CAN ANYONE please help young pacifist gentleman who urgently requires financial assistance. Will give services free during evenings and weekends and repay in full with reasonable interest within two years. Genuine and deeply sincere; good credentials. Box 90.

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Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

INDIA SENDS MAN OF PEACE TO MOSCOW

"INDIA attaches the greatest importance to her mission to Moscow," Pandit Nehru told a distinguished gathering of foreign diplomats and Ministers at a reception given on Aug. 24 for Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, India's new Ambassador to the Soviet Union, before his departure to Moscow.

Explaining why the Government selected an eminent educationalist and philosopher for this post, Pandit Nehru said, "If we chose Dr. Radhakrishnan it was because of the very qualities which had made him eminent in other fields of activity. It can be truly said that he goes to Russia as a symbol of India . . . It is a matter of satisfaction to me that at this difficult post we have a man of ability who has the capacity to understand and make others understand.

Earlier in the day, during a session of the Constituent Assembly, of which Dr. Radhakrishnan is a member, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Assembly and Vice President of the War Resisters' International offered him good wishes on his new appointment.

"No" to power solution

Acknowledging these and other expressions of goodwill from members, Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

"We are working under the great leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. If there are political conflicts, there are two ways of overcoming them. One is to give a knockout blow and defeat and destroy, and establish your own supremacy. That is what is called the power solution.

"There is another way—trying to appreciate your opponent's point of view and working out a reconciliation. That is the 'knowledge' solution.

"We in this country are wedded to adoption of the knowledge solution, and in my endeavour in Soviet Russia it will be my business to interpret and understand their policies and also to interpret and make them understand our policies today."

"Yes" to peaceful settlement

Dr. Radhakrishnan stopped at Stockholm on his way to Moscow while the World Government Congress was in session and made the following statement:

"For two years I was active in the world federation movement and broadcast on its behalf, but I have had to drop these activities now that I have taken up my diplomatic duties.

"All international movements such as this one are good, because they are now the only hope of effecting a peaceful settlement in world affairs."

Dr. Radhakrishnan's predecessor in Moscow, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit was recently appointed Ambassador to the USA.

Typical of Indian Press comments on the new Moscow appointment is that of "Bharat":

"The delicate position of neutrality which India has taken in the quarrel of giants, demands the services of one schooled in lucid thinking and drilled in detachment."

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TRIAL OF PIETRO PINNA

Gaol visits changed my attitude towards COs

—ITALIAN DEPUTY

Last week we announced the release from prison of the Italian conscientious objector Pietro Pinna after the first trial of a CO in Italy since the end of the Fascist regime. Below we give a summarised translation of the report on the trial which appeared on the front page of the Turin *Cittadini del Mondo*, which devoted most of its issue of Aug 30 to "obiezione di coscienza."

The report, which has been translated for Peace News by Audrey Jupp, con-

cludes with these words: "To Pietro Pinna, to his courageous supporters and to those who gathered at Turin from different parts of Italy, goes our gratitude for the fruitful seed which their clear and moving words have planted in our hearts."

The ten months' suspended sentence given by the Military Tribunal is not final. The defence has given notice of appeal.

FROM the outset the attitude of the Court was made clear by the President, General Achille Ratti. In accordance with Articles 173 and 81 of the peace time Military Penal Code under which Pietro Pinna had been brought before the Court, the President affirmed that he would not regard the trial as a matter of conscientious objection.

It was the trial of a soldier charged with persistent disobedience to military authority, and it was on this charge only that he would accept evidence.

After the evidence of Capt. Cauda, Sergt. Delpiano and Marshall Caccavale, officers in Pinna's regiment, who gave brief accounts of Pinna's disobedience came the evidence of Umberto Calosso, a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

His deposition, eloquent with persuasive argument, served to undermine the prejudice of the Tribunal towards conscientious objection.

President's discomfiture

The discomfiture of the President as he was confronted with a situation for which the law made no provision was soon apparent.

Deputy Calosso's first point was his own change of attitude after visiting Pinna several times in prison and witnessing his courageous bearing.

His second point—that obedience to conscience would raise the morale of the army—caused slight disturbances in the court.

The next witness for the defence, Prof. Aldo Capitini, one of Italy's leading pacifists, spoke with assurance of the letter written to him by Pinna concerning his motives (non-violence and truth) for refusing military service. He was sure that the struggle against Fascism must lead to a society in which the decision to fulfil military service could stand side by side with the liberty to choose equally dangerous or sacrificial but non-violent service.

Then followed the evidence of Prof. Edmondo Marcucci.

After a short recess the Public Prosecutor Major Cavalcaselle took the floor. In direct opposition to the President's ruling he attacked the accused's obedience to conscience. He asked permission to quote a phrase of St. Thomas that clearly indicated a high moral rule "Come to terms always with a reasonable opponent." Separated from the Minister's arguments it seemed an encouragement to conscientious objectors.

Particularly serious was his insistence of the rigid opposition of the law to conscientious objection and the activity of objectors.

Frightened by non-violence

"Not only by violence can our institutions be overthrown," exclaimed Major Cavalcaselle. "Non-violent resistance can effect revolution. Fail to punish this objector severely and you will open the way to a most subtle form of sedition."

The eloquence of the Major also touched other controversial themes. In particular murmuring was heard in court when he asserted that on the moral plane there was

no other source for the Christian than the traditional dogma of the Roman Catholic Church—the pursing of his lips had already been noticed when council for the defence Bruno Segre read a declaration of Pinna's in which he mentioned his alienation from the Roman Church.

Opposing the request of the Public Prosecutor for a sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment with all the penalties of the law, Segre rose and with stirring words traced the history of conscientious objection and spoke of the systems which have been evolved in other countries.

A profound impression was made by his reading of letters written by the accused in prison affirming his decision never under any circumstances to fight his brother, and expressing his willingness to his country in any non-military capacity.

Justice not violated

The second counsel for the defence Agostino Buda, maintained with ardour the legitimacy of conscientious objection to be included in the Italian constitution. By his act, not only had Pinna followed a higher moral law he had not in fact violated the pattern of justice. Buda particularly based his speech on the framework of the Constitution and on Article 15 of the Peace Treaty.

After an ineffective speech by Major Cavalcaselle to which Buda replied briefly, Pinna got up and in a voice quivering with emotion re-affirmed his loyalty to the principles for which he stood and by which he desired to live.

The quiet words, free from rhetoric, delivered in the grave silence of the courtroom, and the document from the prison cell made the most moving parts of the hearing.

The sentence

After a recess of more than an hour the court resumed. The accused was very calm as the President read the verdict. This found Pietro Pinna guilty of persistent disobedience to the military authority and condemned him to ten months imprisonment with certain benefits and conditions, in consequence of which he was released.

OLIVE SADLER

ON Tuesday, Sept 6, the Socialist and Peace movements lost a redoubtable fighter by the death of our comrade Olive Sadler, wife of Mark, at the age of 50 years, writes the Secretary of the North-East ILP.

"The tremendous esteem in which she was held by people of Tyneside and far beyond was shown by the large concourse at Heaton Cemetery two days later. Many could not get inside the chapel. About 160 assembled round the grave afterwards.

"To the tributes of these, her many relatives, her family, her friends, the ILP and PPU representatives, and others, we desire to add our recorded appreciation of her services not only to the ILP as auditor, scrutineer, delegate, as untiring organiser of concerts and socials, and as comrade, but to COs, and to all whom she never ceased to advise and help."

Pressure on space has made it necessary to hold over reports of meetings at Newcastle, Eastcote and the London Area Garden Party. These, with a digest of Hiroshima Day meeting reports from all parts of the world, will appear next week.

The Quaker Peace Testimony

In entering its firm protest against the Military Training Bill the Society of Friends is led to do so upon the fundamental grounds of its understanding of the nature and purpose of God and of the faith learned of Christ. The compulsion of men to learn how to destroy their fellow men is an assumption by the State of an authority over human personality that is an outrage upon God and man.

—Statement by the Society of Friends, 1939.

The above is an extract from "The Quaker Peace Testimony," an anthology compiled by Jos. S. Rowntree and Helen Byles Ford and published by the Friends Peace Committee, 6d.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

"If the Church chose to lead neither death nor hell nor Fascism could stand up against it."

—Vera Brittain "Born 1925"

ARCHDEACON HARTILL'S decision to refuse the use of his church for a Battle of Britain anniversary service has, we are told, caused great indignation among the members of the local RAF Association, yet, in refusing to have this service in his church Percy Hartill has exercised the freedom of choice for which the RAF Association asserts that the Battle of Britain was fought.

Had the Battle of Britain ended in defeat and Hitler's forces invaded this country, there is no question but that Archdeacon Hartill would still have refused his church for the purpose of thanking God for a victory in war (which Hitler might well have decreed should have been done) and would have been prepared to accept the consequences of such a refusal.

If it had been defeat

That the consequences under a British Government are very different from the consequences under a Nazi Government does not alter the fact that even if the RAF had been defeated in 1940 Archdeacon Hartill would still have been free to make precisely the same choice as he is making today; he might have died, but force would not have changed his beliefs.

The world has not been saved for freedom by the Battle of Britain for the truth is that freedom of conscience cannot be defended by force. It might have been very different if, instead of only a few taking a pacifist stand, there had been no Christian church in the world willing to invoke the blessing of God on bombs and indiscriminate destruction. Archdeacon Hartill's determination to resist the essential falseness of such a thanksgiving is something which should inspire the whole pacifist movement.

Though individually we may not have an opportunity to make such public witness to our beliefs, there is all the same, in our day to day lives, often a chance, even if only in ordinary conversation with an acquaintance, to make a stand against the public acceptance of war as a justifiable means to an end.

Our duty

It is not easy, on the contrary it is often very hard to resist the inclination to let the moment go by; "is it worth it?" we say to ourselves. It is always worth it, for every little effort adds up to an impact upon the public mind and conscience which it is our responsibility to make.

Wars will cease when men refuse to fight. These words will be seen on hoardings all over London during the Battle of Britain celebrations and thanksgivings. The Church has not chosen to give a lead against war, but we have chosen, and it is true that if all men and women chose to refuse what they believe and know to be evil "neither death nor hell nor fascism" nor any other tyranny could stand up against them.

It is our responsibility to make known our choice and our reasons for our choice, so that not thousands, but millions will join us in our struggle to eliminate war from the world.

FULL TIME FOR WYFL

ARTHUR BIRD, formerly pastor in charge of the Mary Fletcher Memorial Methodist Church, High Road, Leyton, E10, is now devoting his time to developing the World Youth Friendship League which he founded in December 1945, and editing the International Youth Review. He is free to take preaching appointments on Sundays and to speak about the League and Review at youth clubs, fellowship meetings, etc. His address is 7 Durham Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex, phone BUCKHURST 5730.

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In support of the town of the No. 10, Entente. Vittorio Emanuele printed the English titled "Peace" by Maria Montessori.

In it she pointed, by patient struggle, in consequence took more. She believes if man careful those factors w to spread. To back to the child different way. cannot do. TH of war against all their fresh wise and con pattern.

Individuals a support this re writing to the following: the Nobelkom Norway.

MPs to c

PHYSICIAN and John debate the follo day Sept 28 at ping Street, B

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